

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15
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FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2438
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

C O N F I D E N T I A L PRETORIA 5274

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PORG, SA, WA
SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: PROPOSED SYG LETTER TO BOTHA

REF: STATE 226445

1. WHETHER OR NOT A LETTER FROM WALDHEIM TO BOTHA ALONG THE LINES
OF PARA 4 REFTEL WOULD SATISFY THE LATTER (AND IT MIGHT NOT),
BOTHA'S SEPTEMBER 6 MESSAGE TO THE SYG SHOULD NOT IN OUR VIEW BE
LEFT WITHOUT RESPONSE. WE AGREE WITH THE GENERAL OUTLINE OF
WHAT THE DEPARTMENT SUGGESTS WALDHEIM MIGHT INCLUDE IN HIS LETTER.

2. ON THE MAIN QUESTION OF THE SIZE OF THE UNTAG MILITARY
ELEMENT, WE BELIEVE THERE SHOULD BE A FULL, CLEAR, AND SPECIFIC
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EXPOSITION OF THE REASONS FOR GENERAL PHILIPP'S RECOMMENDATION.
THE SYG COULD BE MORE PERSUASIVE IF HE SOUGHT TO GIVE SOME
SPECIFIC SUBSTANCE TO THE ASSERTION THAT STRICT OBSERVANCE OF THE
CEASEFIRE BY ALL PARTIES WOULD AFFECT THE NUMBER OF UN TROOPS
REQUIRED. HE MIGHT DO THIS BY INDICATING PRACTICAL PLANNING
WHICH TAKES ACCOUNT OF SUCH AN EVENTUALITY. FOR EXAMPLE, HE
COULD STATE (1) PRUDENCE DICTATES ACCEPTANCE OF THE PROFESSIONAL

ADVICE HE HAS RECEIVED ON A FORCE OF 7,500, BUT (2) HE RECOGNIZES THAT IMPLEMENTATION OF THE TRANSITION PROCESS WILL AFFECT THE SITUATION IN THE TERRITORY AND HE WOULD HOPE THIS WOULD OCCUR IN A WAY WHICH REDUCES THE TROOP REQUIREMENT, SO (3) HE CONTEMPLATES COMMENCING WITH A TARGET OF 5,000 TO BE INTRODUCED IN PHASES UNDER CONTINUING ASSESSMENT OF NEED BY THE UNSR, IN CONSULTATION WITH THE AG AND OTHER NAMIBIAN PARTIES, AS IMPLEMENTATION PROCEEDS, WHILE (4) THE REMAINING 2,500 WOULD BE ON STANDBY SUBJECT TO POSSIBLE CALL BY THE SYG IF THE UNSR, AFTER CONSULTATION WITH THE AG AND OTHER NAMIBIAN PARTIES, SO RECOMMENDS. THIS GENERAL STATEMENT MIGHT BE ACCOMPANIED BY A DESCRIPTION, AS SPECIFIC AND DETAILED AS POSSIBLE, OF HOW THE TROOPS WOULD BE DEPLOYED AS MONITORS AND WHAT THEIR DUTIES WOULD BE.

3. AN APPROACH ALONG THESE LINES, WHILE FALLING SHORT OF WHAT THE SAG WANTS, WOULD GO PART OF THE WAY AS IT PROVIDES FOR A DEGREE OF CONTINUING CONSULTATION WITH THE SAG (THROUGH THE AG) ON TROOP NUMBERS AS THE PROCESS UNFOLDS AND PRESERVES A FLEXIBILITY WHICH COULD ALLOW A FORCE OF LESS THAN 5,000, WHILE MAINTAINING THE INTEGRITY OF THE SYG'S RECOMMENDATIONS. ALTHOUGH SWAPO'S MINIMUM OF 5,000 IS PRESERVED AS AN INITIAL TARGET, SWAPO MIGHT PROTEST ANY IMPLICATION THAT THE FINAL FIGURE MIGHT TURN OUT TO BE LESS. IT SEEMS TO US, HOWEVER, THAT WE ARE NEAR THE POINT AT WHICH BOTH SWAPO AND THE SAG MUST AGREE TO ALLOW THE SYG TO ASSUME HIS RESPONSIBILITIES AND

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PROCEED IN ACCORD WITH HIS BEST JUDGMENT. WE RETURN TO THE ROCK-BOTTOM DILEMMA FACING SWAPO AND THE SAG -- THEIR DISTRUST OF THE UN. THEY WILL HAVE TO DECIDE VERY SOON WHETHER OR NOT TO TAKE THE RISK.

4. OTHER MAJOR POINTS RAISED BY BOTHA SHOULD ALSO BE DEALT WITH IN THE SYG'S REPLY. CLARIFICATION OF THE ROLE OF THE POLICE CONTINGENT AS ONE OF MONITORING ONLY SHOULD ALLAY BOTHA'S EXPRESSED CONCERNS ON THIS ISSUE. ON ELECTIONS, A SOLID AND INCONTROVERTIBLE CASE CAN BE MADE THAT SOME DELAY IS INESCAPABLE IF THEY ARE TO BE ENTIRELY FREE AND CONDUCTED UNDER CONDITIONS OF IMPARTIALITY. THE SYG MIGHT WANT TO REASSURE THE SAG OF HIS DETERMINATION TO MOVE TO ELECTIONS AND INDEPENDENCE AS RAPIDLY AS POSSIBLE. THE MOST PROMISING WAY TO DEAL WITH BOTHA'S ASSERTIONS ABOUT SWAPO IS, AS RETEL SUGGESTS, TO SECURE FROM SWAPO AS CLEAR AND UNEQUIVOCAL A COMMITMENT AS POSSIBLE TO THE SETTLEMENT PROPOSAL, TO THE SYG, IMPLEMENTATION PLAN, AND, SPECIFICALLY, TO THE CEASEFIRE. (THE AFTER-NOON PRESS TODAY, SEPTEMBER 7, IS HEADLINING REPORTS FROM NEW YORK OF NUJOMA'S READINESS TO SIGN AN AGREEMENT TO A CEASEFIRE.)

5. TO BE OF MAXIMUM USEFULNESS IN ATTEMPTING TO OPEN A WAY OUT

OF THE PRESENT APPARENT IMPASSE, THE SYG'S LETTER SHOULD BE
PREPARED WITH A VIEW TO PROMPT PUBLICATION, FOLLOWING BOTHA'S
OWN PRECEDENT. THIS MAY TEND TO PUT SOME CONSTRAINTS ON THE
CONTENT, BUT FAILURE TO PUBLISH COULD DEFEAT THE PURPOSE BY
LEAVING ONLY THE SAG POSITION ON THE PUBLIC RECORD.
EDMONDSON

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Message Attributes

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